From Rev. Jas. Sibree.
Pam- Africa, East Madagascar
127

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A QUARTER-CENTURY

OF

CHANGE AND PROGRESS:

ANTANANARIVO AND MADAGASCAR

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.

BY

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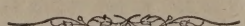

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A QUARTER-CENTURY OF CHANGE AND PROGRESS:

ANTANANARIVO AND MADAGASCAR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.

SOME fourteen years ago a pleasant meeting of members of the L.M.S. and F.F.M.A. missions living in Antanànarìvo was held at Fàravòhitra to listen to a paper read by the only surviving member of the first L.M.S. mission in this country, the venerable and esteemed James Cameron. At the suggestion of the present writer, Mr. Cameron had been asked to give us some recollections of the early mission in Madagascar and of his fellow missionaries. With this request he willingly complied, and for an hour and a half or more we were all charmed by the graphic and often quaint and humorous sketches which our friend gave us of Malagasy society and of mission work in those early days, then fifty years or so gone by.

The writer of the present paper cannot recall life in this country for so far back as fifty years, but since on the day I write these words (Sept. 29th, 1888) it is exactly twenty-five years ago since I landed in Madagascar, I have thought that possibly a few recollections of the Capital and the country generally, and of the people, both natives and foreigners, who lived here a quarter of a century ago, may not be without some interest to those who have more recently arrived in the island, and may perhaps serve to recall to my contemporaries some memories of their early residence in this country; while it will also show a few of the changes which have passed over it during that space of time.

Before speaking of changes and progress *in* Madagascar, a few words may be said about changes which have taken place in the means by which we get *to* the island. For several years sailing ships coming round the Cape of Good Hope were usually made use of to bring missionaries and other intending residents to Madagascar. There was in 1863 no direct regular communication between the island and the outer world. A direct line of mail steamers calling at the eastern ports, whether those of the French 'Messageries Maritimes,' or of the 'Castle' line, is a matter of very recent introduction, within the last six or seven years, in fact; although for four or five years before that, Mojangà and Nòsibé were in monthly connection with Zanzibar and South Africa by the steamers of the 'Union' company. Twenty-five years ago, however, the sugar-carrying ships of the 'Blyth and Green' line were our chief means of getting to this country, and about 90 days—sometimes it was 100 days—was the usual duration of the voyage from England to Port Louis, instead of the present three weeks to Tamatave by the 'Messageries' line, or the five weeks by the 'Castle' steamers. My first voyage to Madagascar, however, was by a steamer of the 'P. and O.' line, which company at that time, and for a very few years later, ran a monthly vessel between Mauritius and Suez, connecting at the latter place—

viâ the old Overland Route, by rail across Egypt—with the India and China mail steamers of the same company. My first return voyage home, in 1867, was in a 'Union' company's steamer from Port Louis *viâ* the Cape.

But after these voyages, whether by sailing ship, or by steamer, were accomplished, we still had only got to Mauritius; and the voyage across to Tamatave, of only 550 miles, was sometimes a more difficult and trying adventure than all the 5,500 miles and more of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean route. The well-known 'bullocker' of the period was then almost our only means of getting to and from Mauritius; and none of those who have sailed in that class of vessel will ever forget their experiences on board those delectable craft. The 'bullocker' was usually a broken-down ship which had been condemned as unseaworthy for ordinary trade, and so had been bought for a trifling sum as good enough for bringing bullocks from the eastern ports. The commander had often not enough knowledge of seamanship to bring his vessel within 50 miles of his destination, so that frequently several days were spent in endeavouring to make the port. Accommodation, as regards berths or sleeping cabins, was usually entirely wanting. The cookery, to our English notions, was disgusting: oily and garlicky messes, bean soup, and plentiful supplies of cabbage and pumpkin formed the staple fare, so that one ran a chance of being half-starved, unless private supplies were taken on board. When going to Madagascar, the stores of hay taken as forage for the bullocks often contained innumerable mosquitoes; while on the return voyage, the presence of from 200 to 300 poor beasts on deck and in the main hold was by no means a pleasant addition to the ship's company. The voyage *to* Madagascar was usually (under favourable circumstances) from four to seven days; but going back again was a very tedious affair, and from a fortnight to three weeks—occasionally a month—was occupied in beating up against light and variable winds; and often half of the poor animals died on the passage and were thrown overboard, as the days wore slowly away. In fact, the voyage from Tamatave to Port Louis often took a longer time than that from Mauritius to France. Truly we are fortunate now-a-days in having so much more speedy and convenient communication with the outer world than was the case when I first knew Madagascar. Of course the tedium and discomforts of the 'middle passage' during war times, and when going to other ports than Tamatave, are still *not* matters only of the past; but there seems a possibility that before very long steamers will touch at most of the principal Malagasy ports.

The greater difficulty of intercourse with Europe *then*, as compared with what is the case *now*, of course made our mails much longer on the way, and much more irregular, than they have been for a long time past. Eight or ten weeks was the usual time letters took to come from or go to England; and during the stormy season of the year we have been occasionally three months together without any news from our friends at home.

Travelling *in* Madagascar has not during the last twenty-five years made any change in speed or in comfort comparable to the improvements and advance just mentioned in our means of getting *to* the island. The pathways along the coast and through the forest remain pretty much now as they were then, that is, about as bad and as difficult to traverse as they can well be. No better bridges span the streams, no more easy gradients ascend the hills, no more commodious houses are at the disposal

of the traveller, than were to be found a quarter of a century ago. A little—a very little—improvement has been made in the paths along the principal routes in the central province, but this has not affected for any distance the chief routes from the coast or to other parts of the interior. A considerable improvement, however, has been made in palanquins, especially in those used by gentlemen. The very simple (and uncomfortable) *filanjána* of former times, which consisted merely of a piece of raw hide or hemp cloth nailed to two poles, without any support for the back, and from which one was very liable to be thrown, has been replaced by the iron-framed and leather-covered and padded contrivance of the present day, which, although still susceptible of improvement, is certainly much less fatiguing for long journeys. Great advances have also been made in the other appliances necessary for comfort in Madagascar travelling, such as folding bedsteads, tables and chairs, canteens, sliding-lid tin boxes, etc., etc. No one need do now what I did on my first journey here, *viz.*, sleep in one's *filanjana* (a most unsatisfactory arrangement), or sit on the floor of a dirty Malagasy hut and eat one's meals off a mat. Health as well as comfort is greatly promoted by more recent contrivances.

Let me now try to recall the kind of place Antanànarìvo was twenty-five years ago. Very remarkable and extensive changes have passed over the Capital since that period, for hardly a building of any size now remains standing as it then appeared. Every prominent structure now breaking the long line of the city ridge has been built since 1863, except the Trànovòla, or second largest palace in the royal courtyard, at the centre of the line. This alone remains unaltered. The shingled roof and wooden walls of the great palace of Manjàkamiàdana are certainly still there, but its triple-storied and stone-arched verandah and its four corner towers are later additions, as well as other royal houses and the Queen's Chapel, with its tower and spire. No Memorial Churches then stood prominent on the extreme points of the ridge, nor was the immense house of the Prime Minister then built, nor the numerous large and handsome residences of the chief officers, which are now crowded so closely together in the centre of the city. Two large double-verandahed timber houses—long since pulled down, were then, together with the royal palaces, the chief features in a distant view of Antanànarìvo.

The most important change in the appearance of the Capital has come about through the repeal of the ancient (and foolish) law or custom forbidding the erection of any building made of material other than wood, bamboo, or rush within the boundaries of the city proper (that part included by the old gateways). This sensible change was made, together with others of still greater importance, soon after the accession of the late Queen Ranavàlona II. and her acceptance of Christianity. Up to the year 1868 therefore, all the buildings covering the central and highest portions of the city hill were entirely of combustible materials. The houses of the richer people were of the kind called *tráno kótona*, that is, of massive timber framework with walls of thick planking, and mostly with high-pitched roofs covered with *hèrana* rush, but occasionally with wooden shingles, and with long 'horns' or projecting poles crossing each other at the apex of each gable. Only a very few examples of this old-fashioned style of Hova house now remain in the Capital, and before many years they will have mostly become a thing of the past. Besides this ancient kind of house, there were

also a few examples of a larger but lower house, built more in the Mauritius style, with verandah all round and low-pitched roof. The poorer houses within the city were *tèri-látsy*, of slight wooden framework, filled in with bamboo or rush and thinly plastered inside.

A very natural consequence of such buildings was the frequency of devastating fires in Antanànarìvo. During my first residence here (1863—1867) very many fires occurred, and they were indeed one of our chief excitements. Crowded closely together, as the houses were, all of wood or bamboo, with the roofs of rush, dry as tinder after five or six months without rain, and with a scorching sun overhead and the heat of cooking fires beneath, it was no wonder that if one house took fire, it was impossible to save its neighbours for a considerable distance round; and a loss of 50 or 60 or even 100 houses was no uncommon occurrence. How frequently, especially during the evening of hot days in October and November, just before the rains come on, have we not been startled by the jangling of the bells, the beat of the drums, and the shouts of the people; and rushing out have found the clouds lighted up by the glare, the white palaces standing out brilliantly illuminated against the black sky, and in a very short time thousands of people gathered together to watch the advance of the flames. Twice at least was a great mass of houses above Ampàmarìnana swept away, including the temporary wooden church; and I remember that on one occasion, even across the 200 feet or so of the Antsàhatsiròa valley, the houses on the northern side were so scorched that all the goods were turned out into the courtyards, lest these houses should also catch fire.

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The repeal of the old law or custom caused a great advance towards a more durable style of Building in Antanànanarìvo, coincident as it was with a much more general use of sun-dried brick. To Mr. Cameron we owe the introduction of these in the L.M.S. Hospital and other buildings at Anàlakély in 1864; the greater convenience and neatness of bricks as compared with mud was soon recognized by the people, and many good brick houses were soon afterwards built in the suburbs. After the accession of Queen Ranavàlona II. in 1868, the combustible and unsubstantial houses in the city were rapidly replaced by brick buildings; and the erection of a brick and stone house for the Queen in the palace yard gave the plainest proof of the end of the old *régime*.

During the last ten or twelve years the much more general use of *burnt* bricks and roofing tiles has marked another great advance in the building art. All over and around the city are seen numbers of substantial well-built houses with verandah-pillars of burnt brick, cut or moulded, sometimes with carved stone capitals and bases, or entirely of stone; while a rush roof is now never seen in a new house of any pretensions. To myself there are few pleasanter sights of the kind than the clusters of cone-shaped brick-kilns to be seen in the valley between Ankàdifòtsy and the north road out of the city, for these mean more substantial and durable buildings. In hardly any other direction have such real advances been made in civilization in Madagascar as in the improvement in the people's dwellings during the last quarter-century; for an improved dwelling means to some extent improved manners, greater comfort and healthfulness, and, one would hope, some improvement in morals.

The building of large two-storied and substantial brick houses has not been confined to the Capital itself, but has spread throughout Imèrina and

to distant parts of the island. In many of the larger villages, numbers of such structures may be seen, many of them really handsome buildings.

Church Architecture has naturally largely shared in this advance in the Malagasy skill and taste. What rough sheds were almost all our churches even in the Capital twenty-five years ago! One is amused to recall the disreputable places we used to meet in for worship for months and years before the Memorial Churches and others were erected. The buildings at Ambàtonakànga and Anàlakèly especially were low, dark and dingy apologies for places for divine service. Well do I remember how the rats used often to run races round the top of the walls (only about 8 feet high) at Ambàtonakànga during service time; while the small low open windows were darkened by a crowd of gazers at the proceedings inside. The Anàlakèly church of that day was, if possible, a yet more miserable structure. It was a long, low and narrow shed, which had been used as a government workshop, and was given by Radàma II. for the use of the congregation. At Ampàribé a substantial square clay building had been opened not long before my arrival, which, with its clean whitewashed walls and coloured borders, etc., appeared to us to have quite an ecclesiastical dignity and elegance compared with the other places. The building it displaced was, I am told, a most curious patchwork, consisting originally of three or four native houses joined together, with odd additions and enlargements as the congregation increased.

Village churches, it may easily be imagined, were not much better; but it is only here and there in some distant places that one can now see specimens of this old style, and can thus justly estimate the great advance which has been made. One could not wish to see more appropriate country churches than are now to be found in many of our villages.

The Roman Catholic church in Ambòdin' Andohàlo was then not much better than its Protestant neighbours; a small low wooden building, much like a native house, then stood where the present elegant cathedral, with its lantern-crowned towers, is erected. The S.P.G. mission had no church in the Capital at that time, and the Norwegian Lutheran mission had not then begun work in Madagascar.

Altogether, it is difficult for any one who has only seen Antananarivo within the last few years to imagine how different a place the Capital was in 1863. A series of negatives will best describe it: no Protestant Memorial Churches or any other structure worthy of being called a church; no Anglican or Roman Catholic cathedrals; no Chapel Royal; no Lutheran church; no stone or brick building in the palace yard; no Prime Minister's house; no Palace of Justice; no College, or Normal School, or High Schools, or Girls' School-houses; no Hospitals; no F.F.M.A. Press or other building; in short, no brick or stone structure, and no tiled roof, with one exception.

It cannot be said, however, that the Roads and paths of Antanànarìvo have undergone equal improvement to that seen in the buildings of the city. With the exception of the well-paved road leading from the palace gate into Andohàlo, and the rougher piece above Ambàtovinàky, the roads are about as bad now as they were when I was first jolted over their primitive ruggednesses. But let me think: on further reflection, I fancy the ascent on the east side of the city *was* worse then, for when I well remember a hole near Ankàdibèvàva which would have swallowed up a waggon and horses with ease; and it is certainly a little better now. Twenty-five years ago a good many of the

stone bridges over the rivers near the Capital were in fairly good order and passable. That at Tànjombàto had every arch perfect, and so had the one south of it, over the Andròmba; and the bridge over the Ikòpa at Ambàniàla was also practicable for traffic, as well as some others. Not one of them now remains. One thing may be seen very plainly in the Antanànarìvo roads, *viz.*, how they wear away and became deepened every year from the roaring torrents that sweep down them in the nights of the rainy season.

During a quarter of a century Antanànarìvo has largely increased in size. In almost all directions the suburbs have advanced so as to include what were formerly separate outlying villages. This increase may be seen very plainly on the north side of the Ambòhijànahàry hill, abutting on the plain of Imàhamàsina. In 1863 hardly a house had been erected there, but now it is half covered with buildings. But still more marked is the extension of the city northwards, on the Fàravòhitra ridge. When I first came here there was hardly a house all the way from some distance south of the College to nearly as far as the junction with the road from Anàlakèly. And when Mr. Hartley built his house (the present L.M.S. Rest-house north of the College), he was considered a most rash and venturesome man to dare to live in such an out-of-the-world region, a place of executions, and the reputed haunt of robbers and ghosts, where no sensible person would risk himself after sundown! Even Mr. Ellis thought it an imprudent running of risk. It is amusing to recall all this as one walks along what is really the English quarter of Antanànarìvo, with its numerous houses, College, Normal School, Friends' Press, Girls' School, Memorial Church, etc., all closely grouped together along a third of a mile of the northern portion of the city ridge. A photograph in my possession shows Fàravòhitra in 1865, with Mr. Hartley's house as the solitary building on the top of the hill.

It may be here remarked that European Houses have greatly improved in comfort and convenience since 1863. Missionary residences were for several years very rough and primitive in style. In some of them, drainage works had to be carried out during the rainy season on the bare mud floor; a glazed window instead of a wooden shutter was for long considered a rather needless luxury, showing a tendency to pamper the flesh; and on my own arrival, good Mr. Ellis, then our resident Director, and 'guide, philosopher and friend' in general, gave me the alternative of a 'rush lean-to' against one of the houses at Ampàribè, or of taking up my residence in the roof of his house at Antsàhatsiròa, a black and grimy retreat, well furnished with '*mainty molàly*' or 'ancient soot.' Either of these he considered would be a suitable provision for the juvenile architect of the Memorial Churches. Eventually I accepted neither of these tempting offers, but took up my quarters in a little wooden house then serving as a warehouse at the L.M.S. Printing office; and this, by the kind help of my friend Mr. Parrett, was soon transformed into what I considered most "eligible apartments for a single man." I hope we do not now go to the other extreme, but certainly we began with a Spartan simplicity. Health is doubtless much better maintained by the more modern style of house.

With improved dwellings has come improved and more health-giving Food. For several years—why, it is difficult to say—wheaten leavened bread was here only an occasional luxury, and was not at all considered an ordinary necessary of life. Butter we seldom saw, and even milk was not easy to procure regularly. There was an idea it was the proper thing to

"live on the produce of the country," that is, on what it produced *then*, *viz.*, plain boiled rice, black bean soup, skinny fowls, and rice fritters; a cup of coffee certainly, but sweetened with the brown treacly cakes of native sugar. The result to some of us—including myself—was a persistent course of boils for several months, sometimes laming one for a week or two at a time, and leaving scars which will be carried to one's dying day, all, of course, the simple result of poorness of blood arising from poorness of food. We have become wiser on this head. And the Malagasy, at least the well-to-do classes, have for some time past learned the use of bread and cakes, and milk and butter, and refined sugar. All this has promoted the culture of wheat in the country, and increased the demand for machine-made sugar from the coast plantations. Such a thing as bread for sale was unknown in Antanànarìvo twenty-five years ago; now, it may be seen on every little stall by the road-side.

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With regard to Trade, any one who now walks or rides through the city from Andohàlo to Zomà market, and sees the large number of European traders' stores all along the route, would hardly believe that in 1863 not a single foreign trader resided here, nor had any of the few firms at Tamatave an agency here. This often astonished me even then, and I wondered that Messrs. Procter and other foreign houses on the coast did not form a branch establishment in the Capital; but it was long before this took place. In some articles a large trade has sprung up since then. At that time the Malagasy hardly exported a single hide; they preferred to *eat* the skin of their bullocks (as they still do, to a small extent, even now, at the New Year's festival); and all the meat in the markets was cut up with the skin adhering to it.* It is difficult to obtain statistics as to the quantity of hides exported every year from Imerina, but we may estimate them at many tens of thousands annually.†

Together with improved houses among the Malagasy has come the demand for and use of improved Dress. Wherever Christianity and education have taken some little hold upon the people, there cleaner and better clothing soon follows. The dirty, never washed hemp or rofia *lambas* are replaced, at least on Sundays, by clean white ones of American or English sheeting, calico, or print. Flannel for children's clothes as well as for adults is in much more general use, with obvious benefit to health; and boots and shoes and stockings are more generally worn than in 1863, although I am inclined to consider this as a questionable benefit, and a source of risk to health, wherever their use is intermittent. Certainly very excellent boots and shoes are now made by native workmen, as neat and well finished as European articles, although not nearly so durable, owing to the inferior materials used here for tanning leather. Apparently no thoroughly suitable bark has yet been discovered in indigenous trees. In other articles of dress not much change has taken place. The Malagasy have always been skilful in the manual arts: in the making of finely woven cloths, in the plaiting of fine straw hats, baskets and mats, and in the fabrication of silver and gold jewellery and ornaments. During the past ten years a new employment for women has been introduced, I believe by Mrs. Wills, *viz.*, the making of lace, both in thread and silk. A large number of young women are now well skilled in this art, and very beautiful work is produced by them. And

* Ox-hide, properly cooked with the fat, etc., is a very excellent dish, and is rightly considered quite a toothsome morsel.

in embroidery and ornamental needle-work of all kinds, there is little that Malagasy women cannot accomplish.

I spoke just now of the changed aspect of Antanànarìvo within the last few years. This is, however, caused not only by the rebuilding of a large part of the city, but also by the introduction of new Trees and shrubs. The Cape-lilac is a tree which, introduced, I believe, by the first missionaries from the Cape of Good Hope, has become thoroughly acclimatized here. Several hundreds of these, many of them trees grown to a great size, are found all over the Capital and its neighbourhood; and in the months of September and October, when the tree is in bloom, the districts of Anàlakély and Ampàribé and other suburbs are gay with the profusion of lilac flowers which cover the trees, and are fragrant with their strong perfume. During the last ten or twelve years also the Bougainvillea has been introduced, and during the months of August and September great masses of its rich purple leaf-like flowers may be seen covering the verandahs of many of the houses. A considerable number of an Australian Blue-gum have also been planted about the city, and many have shot up to a great height. Altogether, Antanànarìvo is much greener and prettier in appearance now than it was in 1863, although almost all the old *Aviàvy* (*Ficus megapoda*) trees then growing in many parts of the city have disappeared. The love of gardens and flower planting has greatly spread among the Malagasy during the last few years through the number of European flowers and shrubs introduced by foreigners. A variety of Rose has become naturalized and in some places grows wild.

But not only have many foreign trees and flowers been planted here, but the use of European Fruits and vegetables also has been greatly extended during the last twenty-five years. And in addition to native products, and many foreign fruits and vegetables previously introduced, quinces, grapes and plums are also now tolerably plentiful in their season; and peas, carrots, turnips, beets, cabbages, lettuces, and celery can now be obtained, all rare or unknown luxuries to us a few years ago. Malagasy coffee is a very excellent article; and, quite lately, experiments have been made in the planting of tea. Doubtless many more products of other climates could be profitably cultivated here.

Our knowledge of Madagascar itself has become greatly enlarged and more exact during the last quarter of a century. In 1863, and for many years afterwards, we had the vaguest notions of every part of the interior, except of the few miles round Antanànarìvo, and of the line of route from here to the east coast. All else was almost a blank. The Maps of the interior, before M. Grandidier's sketch-map of 1871, were works of imagination, not of observation or survey. The Capital was then the sole mission station in the interior, and Tamatave the only one (of the Jesuit mission) on the coast. An excursion a small party of us made to Lake Itàsy in 1866 was a plunge into the unknown, and, like every journey beyond about a dozen miles away from Antanànarìvo, had all the interest and excitement of a voyage of discovery. Now, for some time past, thanks to M. Grandidier, Mr. Cameron, Dr. Mullens, Mr. W. Johnson, Mr. Cowan and others, the physical geography and the topography of a large portion of the interior has been made tolerably clear. The blanks in the map are being gradually filled up (although there are yet large spaces still leaving scope for the explorer), and the map of Madagascar is now marked by the tracks of travellers in numerous directions.

The old fiction of a vast backbone of mountains, running down the centre of the island from Cape Amber to Cape St. Mary's, like an enormous centipede, with great branches at regular intervals on each side, has been exploded by a physical sketch-map, of which the general features are tolerably certain, although many details still require to be filled up. What M. Grandidier has done in this direction is well known, but to missionary journeys also a great deal is due for widening our acquaintance with the geography of many parts of the country.

And this advance in our knowledge of the physical geography of Madagascar during the past twenty-five years has been accompanied by great progress in the allied sciences, so far as they relate to this country. Thanks to Mr. Crossley, M. Grandidier, Dr. Vinson, Messrs. Pollen and Van-Dam, Dr. Hildebrandt and others, the leading features of the Zoology of the island are now pretty well settled, and are not likely to be greatly modified, although probably many of the smaller animals, birds and reptiles still remain to be added to the lists. And owing chiefly to the labours of Mr. Baron, the Botany of the central portions and eastern side of Madagascar is now tolerably well known; although the western side and the extreme north and south yet remain to be carefully examined by the botanist. More recently Mr. Baron has also thrown far more light upon the Geology of the country than had been done by any previous observer; but here the field is is so wide that only a beginning can to be said to have been made. With regard to the Ethnology of the various Malagasy races, almost everything yet remains to be done by fuller investigation of the peculiarities of the different tribes.

In a review of the kind I am now trying to give, it is impossible to ignore altogether the Political changes which the quarter-century has witnessed; but as this is delicate ground, a brief outline of simple historical facts is all that will be here attempted.

First of all then, the twenty-five years now passed have seen three sovereigns on the throne of Madagascar, viz., Queen Ràsohèrina (1863—1868), Queen Ranavàlona II. (1868—1883), and the present ruler, Queen Ranavàlona III. During the reign of Queen Ràsohèrina treaties were concluded with England, France and America; and subsequently Italy and Germany have also entered into friendly relations with Madagascar, all these five powers placing consuls or vice-consuls at the chief ports. The close of the reign of the late sovereign saw the outbreak of the war with France, which continued during the first two or three years of the reign of the present Queen, and ended, notwithstanding the brave and successful defence made by the Malagasy, in the obtaining of greater influence by the French, and the stationing of a French Resident and subordinate officers in the Capital, instead of a consul, as had previously been the case. Up to the year 1865, the elder brother of the present premier was at the head of the Government, but at that time, His Excellency Rainilaiàrivòny took the office, as well as that of Commander-in-Chief, and has ever since exercised predominant influence in national affairs.

During the reign of Queen Ranavàlona II., in the year 1881, the Laws of the kingdom were codified and revised; the punishments for various offences being made much less severe, particularly in the fewer crimes which were to be reckoned as capital, and also in the abolition of the ancient laws by which the wife and children of criminals were, in many

cases, reduced to slavery. The old law by which soldiers deserting their colours were burned alive was also abolished. In all this we may gladly recognize the humanizing influence resulting from Christian teaching. In the year 1877, on June 20th, all the Mozambique slaves in the country, whether brought from Africa, or born in Madagascar, were formally set free by royal proclamation.

In the year 1881, a kind of Cabinet was formed, with departments of War, Interior, Foreign Office, Justice, Law, Industry and Agriculture, Revenue, and Education, each with an officer of high rank at its head and assisted by subordinate officials. Before that, in 1876, a proclamation had been issued appointing a number of old discharged soldiers (officers and men) to be local magistrates in the principal towns and villages of Imèrina. These officials were termed *Sakaizam-bòhitra* (lit. 'Friends of villages'), their duties being to keep order in their districts, to promote education, to act as registrars of births, deaths and marriages, etc., etc. These appointments, however, seem to have become largely inoperative, probably because the people generally were as yet hardly sufficiently advanced to carry out the new regulations, although these were excellent in themselves. More recently new governors have been appointed to all the principal ports and interior towns, many places being newly made military posts with commanders and small garrisons. Within the last few months government officers have been appointed to hold the chief authority in a large number of the villages of the central province.

Besides the armies raised during the Franco-Malagasy war and sent to various points on the coast, east and north-west, two war expeditions have, since 1863, been sent by the central Government to distant parts of the island: the first in 1873, to re-establish Hova authority over the central Sàkalàva. This was happily accomplished with little bloodshed and in a very humane and merciful spirit. The second expedition only left the Capital in July, and is therefore now (October, 1889) still on the way. Its object is to bring the turbulent Vèzo and other south-western tribes into obedience to the Queen, and to establish military posts in the neighbourhood of St. Augustine's Bay.

Embassies to foreign powers have been sent at various times: one to England and France towards the close of 1863; another, not long before the outbreak of the war with France, in the latter part of 1882, to France, England, America and Germany; and a third to France only, in 1886. And special commissioners have from time to time been sent to this country both by France and England, *viz.*, in 1866, in 1881, and in 1886.

Great changes and improvements have been made during the last few years in the discipline, training and equipment of the native Army. In 1879 numbers of old and infirm soldiers were discharged, and annual levies of troops with short service were instituted. The troops have been armed with the best European weapons, and drilled by English officers, to whom, seconded by the bravery of the Malagasy soldiers, it was largely due that so successful and prolonged a resistance was made in the Franco-Malagasy war of 1883—1885.

A few words must now be said about advances in Madagascar during the past quarter of a century in higher matters than material civilization or political arrangements, namely, in literature, education, morals and religion.

V-4-5,

Malagasy Literature in 1863 might almost have been all carried in the pockets of one's coat. It must be understood that there is no ancient *indigenous* literature in Madagascar, the knowledge of writing having been introduced by English missionaries within the present century; and almost everything that has been printed in the native language has been done since the year 1827, and by Europeans. When I arrived here the list of books in the native language comprised the entire Bible, two separate editions of the New Testament and the Psalms, a hymn-book, a translation of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, a dictionary (Eng.-Mal. and Mal.-Eng.), a grammar, half a dozen elementary school books, and a few sermons, tracts and catechisms. In 1888 any one who will take the trouble to glance through the pages of my *Malagasy Bibliography* * will see that a quarter of a century has produced a large number of books in the native language, issued chiefly from the presses of the London Missionary Society, the Friends' mission, and the Roman Catholic mission, and also, but in less number, from the presses of the S.P.G., the Norwegian Lutheran mission, the *Madagascar Times*, and the native Government. Naturally, a large proportion of these books are religious and educational in character, including various editions of portions of Holy Scripture, Bible handbooks and Bible history, lives of Christ, and of the Apostles, Biblical antiquities, a *Dictionary of the Bible* (910 pp.), many commentaries, exegetical and homiletical, theology, Church history, homiletics, translations of *Pearson on the Creed*, Bunyan's *Holy War*, and a few other standard English books, helps to preachers and teachers, and sermons, tracts, catechisms, etc., etc. Something, however, has also been done in providing more general literature, *viz.*, a pretty complete series of school manuals; histories of Greece, Rome, England and Madagascar; several elementary science handbooks, including physical geography, astronomy, botany, physics, chemistry, music, and geometry; dictionaries and grammars of English, French and Malagasy, etc.; while the medical missionaries have prepared a number of books on *materia medica*, surgery, anatomy, the cure of diseases, etc. From the Press of the *Madagascar Times* have issued translations of the first portions of several important works treating of politics and government; and at the Government Press 'Red-books' giving political documents are occasionally published.

The traditionary Folk-lore of the Malagasy has also been studied, and collections have been made of the proverbs, speeches, songs, customs, legends and folk-tales of the people. Except dictionaries and grammars, the great majority of books printed at the Roman Catholic Press are of a religious and devotional character; and the same remark may be also made of the publications of the S.P.G. and Lutheran societies, except that these give more prominence to Biblical study. It will be seen therefore that a native literature has been gradully growing up during the last few years, and it is being added to every year, in fact, every month.

Six monthly magazines (one, *Tèny Sòa*, or 'Good Words,' commenced in 1866), a quarterly magazine, two weekly newspapers, a Government Gazette at irregular intervals, and a small children's paper about every three or four months, comprise the Periodical Literature in the Malagasy language.

After going carefully through the lists of works published at the various

* Published at the L.M.S. Press, Antanànarivo: 1885, pp. 92.

presses, I find that a rough estimate gives the following Statistics of Books issued, excluding small pamphlets and slighter publications:—

Mission	*No. of Books*	*Aggregate no. of Pages*
London Missionary Society	200	19,000
Friends' For. Miss. Assoc.	100	12,000
do. for Medical Mission	9	1,370
Soc. for Propag. of Gospel	17	2,750
Norweg. Lutheran Miss. Soc.	18	2,800
Roman Catholic Mission	45	9,500 *
Totals	480	47,420 †

But books would be of no value were there no readers, and accordingly, Education and the maintenance of Schools takes a very prominent place in the work of all the missionary societies who are represented in Madagascar. Schools were commenced by the first L.M.S. missionaries on the eastern coast in 1818, and at the Capital in 1820; and before they were obliged to finally leave the country in 1836, schools had been at work for several years in a number of the principal places in Imèrina, and about twelve thousand children had been taught to read and write, etc. During the greater part of the reign of Queen Ranavàlona I. education was almost at a standstill, but on the resumption of mission work in 1862, schools were again set on foot; and from that time to the present educational work has had great attention, and considerable sums have been spent on school buildings and appliances, and on the training of teachers, by all the societies at work in the country.

It is unnecessary to go minutely here into the details of the educational system carried out by the L.M.S. and F.F.M.A. missions; but it may just be here said that the great majority of the Christian congregations of Madagascar, whatever may be the society with which they are connected, have a day school, usually meeting in the church itself, where elementary instruction is given. These schools are of all degrees of efficiency, varying largely with the intelligence of the congregations and their nearness to or distance from European supervision; and almost all of them are taught by teachers who have themselves received some training from missionaries. The advance made during a quarter of a century will be clearly seen by the following figures, which, however, in some cases, from the great difficulty of gathering accurate statistics, can only be considered as approximate:—

	1863		1888	
Mission	*Schools*	*Scholars*	*Schools*	*Scholars*
London Missionary Society	7	360	950	87,000
Friends' For. Miss. Assoc.	not commenced		130	15,000
Soc. for Propag. of Gospel	do.		100	4,500
Norweg. Lutheran Miss. Soc.	do.		320	36,000
Roman Catholic Mission	?	?	300 ‡ ?	30,000 ‡ ?
Totals			1,800	172,500

For higher education the following institutions have been established since 1863:—*London Missionary Society*, Antanànarivo: Normal school,

* There are probably several other smaller R.C. books which have escaped my notice.

† The yearly issues of the L.M.S. Press from 1870 to 1880 averaged 150,000 copies of various publications; those of the F.F.M.A. Press, 67,000 copies annually.

‡ I have no access to any statistics of this mission; the above figures are only estimated from the government returns of 1882, in which the number of R.C. schools in *Imèrina* is given as 191, and the scholars as 14,400. Possibly, from the large number of R.C. missionaries now at work, this is too low an estimate.

Boys, with Infant school for practising; Girls' Central school; Palace school; College for training native evangelists and secular students; *L.M.S.*, Fianàrantsòa: Normal school, Boys; Girls' Upper school. *Friends' Mission:* Boys' High school; Girls' Upper school. *Soc. for Propag. of Gospel:* Boys' High school; Boys' school; Girls' Upper school; College for training native ministers. *Norweg. Lutheran Mission*, Antanànarìvo: Boys' High school; Girls' Boarding school: *N.M.S.*, Vàkinankàratra: College for training native ministers; Training school for teachers *. *Roman Cath. Mission*, Antanànarìvo: large Upper schools for boys and girls; and the same at Fianàrantsòa and Tamatave. In addition to these it may be remarked that wherever European missionaries are stationed, there schools of a superior kind are always found, and in many cases training classes for teachers are also carried on; every congregation in the Capital has also a good school.

The native Government does nothing for education in the way of monetary help to schools or in the training of teachers. The first of these is left entirely to the different societies at work, and to the people of the villages where schools are established; and the second is done entirely by missionaries. But school teachers are freed from government service by express regulation, and so also are students at the colleges and training institutions. And the Sovereign and the Prime Minister have also shown great personal interest in education and have done much to encourage it. A 'department' of education is connected with the Government, but as it has no funds at its disposal it has little power to initiate any work or improvement; its functions therefore are chiefly confined to the granting of certificates to qualified teachers, freeing them from government service, and to some other details of registration, etc.

Students have also been trained for several years past in medicine and surgery by European doctors both of the Medical Mission and of the Norwegian society. A Medical Missionary Board was formed in the year 1886, and this conducts examinations and grants diplomas. A considerable number of Malagasy are now fairly well qualified doctors, while many female students have been instructed in midwifery and allied subjects. V. 3-11,

It will be evident therefore that the past quarter of a century has seen a great advance in educational work in Madagascar; and although very, very much yet remains to be done before the people even of the central provinces can be considered as properly educated, yet a good foundation has been already laid for future advance, and many thousands of people possess at least the rudiments of knowledge, and can make intelligent use of the books which have been and are constantly being provided for their enlightenment.

Lastly, we must briefly review the Religious and Moral changes in Madagascar since the year 1863.

Protestant Christianity, it is well known, was first taught in this island on the east coast, in the year 1818, and was brought to the Capital two years later, by missionaries of the L.M.S. For fifteen years these first Christian teachers in the central province laboured zealously to lay the foundation of a native Malagasy church. They reduced the language to a

* These various institutions, those at least which are at work in Antanànarìvo and belonging to Protestant societies, have about 1500 students and scholars. We have no returns of the Roman Catholic schools, or of others away from the Capital.

written form; they prepared dictionaries and grammars of Malagasy; they translated and printed the entire Sacred Scriptures, and wrote a small number of religious works and elementary school books. As already noticed, they founded numerous schools in and around Antanànarìvo, and two Christian churches were formed in the Capital, with 200 church members.* Then came the period of persecution and repression of Christianity during the reign of Queen Ranavàlona I., throughout which repeated efforts were made to root out the hated religion of the foreigner, and to terrify the people from acknowledging their faith in Christ. It is well known that these efforts were in vain, and that numbers of Malagasy preferred to give up their property, their honours, their liberty, and even their lives, rather than deny the truths which they had received.†

The time of persecution and distress passed away in August 1861; and, with slight interruptions, the history of Christianity has been one of general Advance ever since that time. In October, 1863, Queen Ràsohèrina had only within the past five months come to the throne. She never accepted the Gospel for herself, yet she freely allowed religious liberty to her subjects; and her reign (1863—1868) was a time of steady and real progress. Soon after the coming to the throne of her successor, the late Queen Ranavàlona II., the new sovereign publicly announced her adherence to Christianity. She was baptized, together with the Prime Minister; the national idols were burnt, an act followed almost immediately by the destruction of the idols and charms of the people generally throughout the central provinces, and wherever Hova influence was powerful; and a large mass of heathen people immediately crowded the native churches already built, and soon erected new places of worship in almost every village of importance. This large accession of numbers necessitated a considerable increase of the missionary staff, and accordingly, in the year 1870 and for several years following, the L.M.S. mission and that of the F.F.M.A. (the latter commenced in 1867) were greatly strengthened, so that the staff of the former was eventually brought up to 30 missionaries, and that of the latter to 10. Up to the year 1870, Antanànarivo was the only station with resident missionaries, although their work had been for some time gradually extending to a considerable distance from the city and all around it. But in that year Ambòhimànga and Fianàrantsòa (the Bètsilèo capital) were occupied, then four more stations in Imèrina and Imàmo, then Vònizòngo and the Antsihànaka province, then Mojangà (on the north-west coast), and other stations in Bètsilèo; while, later still, Tamatave, and lastly, the Taimóro country, on the south-east coast, have also been occupied by L.M.S. missionaries. This makes a total of 14 mission stations, if Antanànarìvo and Fianàrarantsòa are only reckoned as one each, but of 24 stations, if the different districts of which they are the centres are counted separately. English missionaries of this society have thus spread widely over a large extent of Madagascar.

* Besides the intellectual and spiritual benefits brought by the L.M.S. missionaries, much instruction was also given to the Malagasy by the lay members of the mission in several of the arts of civilized life: *viz.*, in improved methods of carpentry, building, iron-work, tanning, and weaving; many useful products of the country were also discovered by them, such as lime, sulphur, potash, soda, etc.

† Some slight attempts have been made within the last few years to discredit all this, and to insinuate that no persecution for Christianity ever took place in Madagascar! but that all who suffered during Queen Ranavàlona I.st's reign, suffered for political offences. I cannot here go fully into the question (I hope at some time to take it up), but will only say that no facts in the history of the Church are better attested or are more capable of the clearest proof than is the persecution of Christianity in Madagascar. Many of those who suffered in various ways are still living among us, and they can confirm all that the first missionaries wrote upon the subject.

Missionaries of the F.F.M.A. (Friends' Foreign Mission Association) have also gone out into the large district under their care (but also in close connection with the L.M.S.); and two centres of work away west from the Capital have been formed and occupied by them.

But the presence of from 30 to 40 European missionaries would be utterly inadequate to overtake the requirements of from 1200 to 1300 congregations were these not supplemented by Native Agency. About 3900 Malagasy preachers, some of very slender attainments, but many with a fair knowledge of what they preach, instruct the congregations every Sunday; and for more than nineteen years past the L.M.S. College has been training an average number of from 30 to 40 young Malagasy as native evangelists and missionaries. More than 100 of these are now stationed all over the country wherever Hova influence extends, and are in most cases doing excellent work in evangelizing and teaching the people. In order to guide and strengthen, and promote mutual help among the large number of still weak congregations, a Church Congress or Congregational Union was formed in the year 1868 for the Imèrina churches, and later on, in 1875, also for those among the Bètsilèo; and great benefit has resulted from the association of all the churches in these respective provinces. In 1875 the Imèrina Union began to send Native Missionaries to heathen portions of the country, and although its first efforts were unsuccessful, eventually its work has become more encouraging, and for some time past 10 native evangelists have been at work at different stations. The Bètsilèo Union has also native missionaries among the Tanàla and Bàra tribes. In both of these Unions the necessary funds are chiefly obtained from the subscriptions, as yet only very small in amount, given by the native churches. Within the last five years many Sunday Schools have been commenced among the larger congregations; and a Sunday School Union for mutual help and united action has been established. During the same period also a Young Men's Preachers' Union has been formed for carrying the gospel into the villages, and this society supports two native missionaries in distant places. An Orphanage for destitute children has also been at work for several years past. In all these departments of benevolent effort we see self-help developing, and evidence that a spirit of earnestness and liberality and zeal is gradually growing up among the Christian people; evidence more satisfactory than series of figures shewing merely numerical increase in congregations, church members, or adherents.*

The Church of England mission in Madagascar at first included missionaries of the Church Missionary Society as well as those of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Both of these societies commenced work here in 1864, but in 1874 the former of the two relinquished its position in the island; and since then the work has been entirely carried on by missionaries partly supported by the S.P.G. and partly by a more private society. For some years the Anglican mission was confined to the east coast, but in 1872 a station was commenced in the Capital; and in 1874 Antanànarìvo was made the seat of a bishopric. Subsequently a missionary College was established at Ambàtoharànana, about 12 miles north of the Capital; and later on, a station, with resident missionary, was formed at Ramainàndro, about two days' journey away to the west; and Anglican congregations

* I hope it will be excused that I here give more details of the work of the L.M.S. and F.F.M.A. than of that of the other societies. It is simply because I am better acquainted with the former. I heartily rejoice in all good work done by every Christian body labouring here.

have been gathered in many villages in Imèrina. European missionaries are stationed at Tamatave, Andòvoranto and Màhanòro on the east coast, and a considerable number of congregations are superintended by them among the Bètsimisàraka people. The S.P.G. staff for some time past has consisted of 10 missionaries, including the Bishop and three lady teachers.

The Norwegian Lutheran Mission in Madagascar was begun in 1867. Its work is chiefly in Vàkinankàratra and Bètsilèo (southern central), with a representative church in the Capital. Here also is its Press, Hospital, Boarding schools and, until lately, a College; the last named, however, has recently been removed to Vàkinankàratra, where also is a Training Institution for school teachers. Besides occupying in force the above mentioned districts, the Norwegian mission has also stations in the southern Sàkalàva country; and within the past year it has entered upon a new field, in the Tanòsy district on the south-east coast. In all, this mission has about 20 central stations, with about 25 missionaries, including lady teachers.

The Roman Catholic mission was in the field a little before the re-occupation of the Capital by the L.M.S. missionaries in 1863, for Réunion being so much nearer to Madagascar than England is, it was easy to send over a small detachment of mission priests immediately the country was re-opened to Christian teaching. A large staff of priests of the order of Jesuits (since 1886 headed by a bishop), and a number of lay brothers, who teach in the schools, and of sisters-of-mercy, also engaged in education, has for many years been at work in Madagascar. Their numbers have been considerably increased since the conclusion of the Franco-Malagasy war, and they occupy central positions at Antanànarìvo, at Fianàrantsòa, and at Tamatave, with mission stations and churches in a large number of villages in all the three provinces of which those towns are the capitals. Large and efficient boarding and day schools are taught in the three chief centres of work; but, so far, there seems to be no staff of native Roman Catholic clergy.

From the above particulars, although they may appear at first sight very dry and catalogue-like, it may be easily gathered that a large amount of work has already been done in Madagascar by the different societies, as well as by Christian natives, during the past twenty-five years. Since 1870 about 70 Protestant missionaries have usually been labouring here, and probably there have been nearly as many Roman Catholic missionaries, except during the years 1883—1885.

And now it may be asked, What are the *Results* of all this work during a quarter of a century? 3. 2 (3)

Here we can only give the barest outline of the leading Facts; but let it be remembered, in the first place, that the idolatry of the central provinces has been utterly swept away, together with a large mass of the superstitious beliefs which were connected with the idols, such as the killing of the children born on unlucky days, the trust in charms and divination, etc. The *tangèna* ordeal, so deadly in its consequences to thousands of the Malagasy, has been completely abolished. Many tens of thousands of the people have been educated, their minds enlightened and largely freed from the foolish notions of their ancestors, and imbued with a knowledge of the leading facts and truths of the Christian religion. Polygamy has been put away; the facility with which divorce used to be effected has been largely diminished; and the open and shameless licentiousness of heathen times, especially on certain occasions, has been put down by a more enlightened

public opinion. The amelioration of the laws, and the abolition of cruel and barbarous punishments has already been noted, as well as the humane and merciful spirit shown even in time of war. Slavery has become less bitter, and a large number of African slaves have been liberated. Besides all this, from two to three hundred thousand people in nearly 2000 congregations listen every week to the Word of God and to teaching which must tend to elevate and purify their minds and lives. Thousands of people are in church fellowship; and while large numbers of these are still ignorant and only nominally Christian, there are also numbers who, it cannot be doubted, are sincere believers in the truths they profess, and are trying to live in obedience to the precepts of the Gospel. A religious literature is gradually growing up; and an educated native ministry is being formed, which is increasing in numbers every year. The native churches are beginning to see their duty to evangelize those of their countrymen who are still heathen, and are doing something to supply them with religious teaching. In all this there is surely cause for thankfulness on the part of every true philanthropist as well as of every sincere Christian.

There is, it cannot be denied, a 'Reverse to the picture;' and there are still evils and deficiencies which all who wish well to Madagascar must deplore. As already said, a large amount of religious profession is no doubt merely nominal, and is largely due to the fact that Christianity has been patronized by the Sovereign and the higher classes. And this has never been concealed by those who know best all the circumstances. A great deal of ignorance and superstition still remains; the marriage tie is still far too loose, divorce and separation far too common; and a sad leaven of impurity of conduct yet defiles the churches of every denomination, to say nothing of "those who are without." There is still a very low ideal of the purity of justice; but this and other abuses are largely attributable to the fact that no salaries are paid to public servants of all ranks, and that *fànompóana* (unpaid government service, as well as that due to feudal superiors) is the principle on which government has here from time immemorial been carried on. This, no less than slavery, still hinders social improvement; but it would be difficult to make any but gradual changes in either. Many good laws have been promulgated, but sufficient motive power to make them effective is as yet largely wanting. During the last few years drinking habits have certainly greatly increased, and the laws forbidding the manufacture or sale of spirits in Imèrina have been gradually relaxed, so that they are becoming a dead letter. But here again, much blame is due to the greed of foreigners, who evade the native laws and flood the coasts with bad rum, and bring wine and spirits into the interior to tempt the people; and also to European powers, who have not effectually helped the Malagasy Government to keep these evils out of the country. Crimes of violence have also increased in number and boldness during the last decade; and within the last two or three years large bands of armed robbers have almost depopulated some districts, carrying scores of the inhabitants away into slavery, and bringing untold misery on the people.

These are some of the shadows in the picture of the "Quarter-century of Progress" which I have here tried to paint, and they are sufficiently saddening and discouraging. But let it be again remembered how little, after all, is the amount of Christian effort which has yet been brought to bear upon the heathenism of this great island, when compared with its

needs; and how short also is the time, compared with that of the life of a nation, during which these influences have been in operation. For it is really only about eighteen years ago since systematic work was begun in order to guide and enlighten the great mass of heathen people who, at the burning of the idols, put themselves under instruction. When we look at the state of our own and other European countries after *centuries* of Christian influence, we need not be astonished that Madagascar is not yet all we wish it to be; and when we remember the condition of some churches even in the Apostolic age, we need not wonder that much impurity and evil still exists in many Malagasy churches.

If we keep these facts in view, and if we remember also how much has already been accomplished within this quarter of a century, all who are interested in the enlightenment and true progress of Madagascar need not be disheartened, but may rather thankfully exclaim, "What hath God wrought!" Let us be encouraged by the success of the past to labour with still greater zeal in the future, until this country takes its place among the enlightened nations of the world, and rejoices in the fulness of the blessings which civilization and Christianity bring to every people.

STATISTICS OF THE L.M.S. MISSION IN MADAGASCAR FOR 1888.*

English Missionaries	Congregations	Native Pastors	Native Preachers	Church Members	Adherents	Schools	Scholars	Money contributed
30	1,293	819	3,982	50,220	206,900	950	87,000	£2858

* In these statistics, those of the district in charge of the F.F.M.A. (except the number of English missionaries, about 10) are also included.